



No. 1,249 London, June 3, 1960 6d.

US, Air Express
Edition 10 cents

15 more demonstrations in France

DIRECT ACTION: 1,000 ARRESTED

MORE THAN 1,000 ARRESTS WERE MADE FOLLOWING NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION DEMONSTRATIONS IN PARIS, MARSEILLES AND DIJON LAST SATURDAY.

INSIDE

Dr. HARRY ELMER BARNES
the outstanding American
historian and penologist
concludes his series on
the infamous case of
CARYL CHESSMAN

page two

TURKEY AND NATO POLITICS
page eight

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP
on Portugal's preparations
for war in Africa
page seven

COMMENTARY

by J. Allen Skinner
page four

CND AND NATO

A report on last week's
Central Hall rally
from David Boulton
page six

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
pages five and six

POLARIS SUBMARINE

A radical demonstration
against America's new
H-bomb launcher
page three



ABOVE: French demonstrators against the detention camps for Algerian suspects. After meeting in Paris last Saturday evening they tried to walk to the Ministry of the Interior but were stopped by the police. They then sat down in silence with their posters and waited to be arrested. The large poster reads: "If you want peace—make it." On the right a gendarme reaches out to seize another poster.

BELOW: The scene in the Place de la Concorde—the largest square in Paris. Demonstrators were mounted round the Egyptian Obelisk. Their banners proclaimed: "We, too, are suspects," and "Put us in their place."

The demonstrators were protesting against the internment without trial in France of 5,000 Algerian suspects.

The demonstration in Paris is believed to have been the fifteenth action in the city since the 1,000-strong protest in the suburb of Vincennes on April 30, reported in *Peace News* on May 6.

Last Saturday's sit-down just off the Champs Elysees, in the heart of Paris, occurred when the police stopped the demonstrators marching to the Ministry of the Interior.

The police were not as gentle as they were at Vincennes a month ago. The demonstrators had their clothes ripped and glasses taken off and stamped on, while violence was used against the people inside the police vans.

One-third women

The demonstrators included ten priests, some Protestant clergy, M. Claude Bourdet, Editor of *France-Observateur*; M. Jean Cassou, Director of the Paris Museum of Modern Art; Mme. Germaine Tillon, the sociologist; M. Schwoebel, assistant foreign news editor of *Le Monde*, and many other distinguished people.

About one-third of the demonstrators were women and about 80 per cent were young people.

After being detained till 5 a.m. they were taken by police cars outside Paris and dumped in the country. The Dijon demon-

CND AND NATO

A report on last week's
Central Hall rally
from David Boulton
page six

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

pages five and six

POLARIS SUBMARINE

A radical demonstration
against America's new
H-bomb launcher
page three



ABOVE : French demonstrators against the detention camps for Algerian suspects. After meeting in Paris last Saturday evening they tried to walk to the Ministry of the Interior but were stopped by the police. They then sat down in silence with their posters and waited to be arrested. The large poster reads: "If you want peace—make it." On the right a gendarme reaches out to seize another poster.

BELOW : The scene in the Place de la Concorde—the largest square in Paris. Demonstrators were mounted round the Egyptian Obelisk. Their banners proclaimed: "We, too, are suspects," and "Put us in their place."



One-third women

The demonstrators included ten priests, some Protestant clergy, M. Claude Bourdet, Editor of *France-Observateur*; M. Jean Cassou, Director of the Paris Museum of Modern Art; Mme. Germaine Tillon, the sociologist; M. Schwoebel, assistant foreign news editor of *Le Monde*, and many other distinguished people.

About one-third of the demonstrators were women and about 80 per cent were young people.

After being detained till 5 a.m. they were taken by police cars outside Paris and dumped in the country. The Dijon demonstrators were taken 20 miles away at 2 a.m.

The five organisers of the Paris demonstration, all members of Action Civique Non-violente, were detained until Sunday night, and it is expected that charges will be brought against them.

The five are Marie Faugeron (Secretary of the Federation Against Atomic Armaments), E. Tinel, Jacques Tinel, Joseph Pyronnet and Ambroise Monod.

No charges

The demonstrators have not been charged because it is understood that it is not possible to level charges of obstruction as is the practice in Britain.

All the demonstrations have been openly organised, the police being informed in advance. Briefing leaflets, similar to those used on British and American direct action projects, have been issued, asking those taking part to remain silent and dignified and to ignore provocation.

"The numerous demonstrations show that it is a continuing movement," a *Peace News* reporter telephoned from Paris. "It is going to go right on. The Government will have to find a formula to arrest these demonstrators and keep them in prison. There are more and more new people all the time."

There has not been one instance of violence being used by the demonstrators, although most of them are newcomers to this form of pacifist action.

Members of the Mouvement Populaire du 13 Moi (a semi-fascist, pro-army organisation who staged a counter demonstration on the other side of the road in Paris on Saturday were also arrested, but it was noticeable that they were more gently handled.

The case of Caryl Chessman—III

The real casualty—American justice

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

The well-known American sociologist and historian, Harry Elmer Barnes, here concludes his series of three articles on the "travesty of justice" in the case of Caryl Chessman who was executed last month.

THE failure of the famed California Department of Corrections, deservedly rated as the most enlightened and advanced organisation of its kind in the world, to take an open and decisive stand against the judicial barbarism involved in the Chessman case has amazed most of its ardent admirers and supporters, including myself.

The Department had no responsibility whatever for the treatment of Chessman by the courts, and its handling of Chessman in prison, save for the foolish and silly censoring of his writing after Warden Teets had originally suggested that he write up his experiences for publication, has been humane, courteous and commendable. The Department and prison wardens extended to him special privileges, which he would never have been permitted under a typical hardboiled American prison warden. These enabled him to carry on the extensive legal work which prolonged his life until the final judicial lynching on May 2.

The Department did not, however, use its great prestige and authority even once to call public attention effectively to the debasing nature of the legal procedure in the Chessman case, from the start of the original trial in the spring of 1948 to the gas chamber on May 2, 1960. This had challenged everything in the correctional philosophy on which the Department was founded, created and operated. The oft-proclaimed objective of the whole operational procedure of the Department is the rehabilitation of inmates. No inmate in the long history of San Quentin Prison ever gave more convincing evidence of even spectacular rehabilitation under the most difficult and discouraging surroundings and circumstances than Caryl Chessman.

This was a point about which the officials of the Department could have rallied with safety and devastating effect. Chessman's successful efforts at rehabilitation were re-

Chessman, and such comment would have carried much weight.

Genuine and honest admirers of the Department can only regret that it did not keep its skirts wholly clean from contagion with gubernatorial evasion and judicial barbarism. This would have been safe and easy, might have saved the state from the final disgrace of Chessman's execution, and would have preserved intact and impeccable the splendid previous reputation of the Department throughout the civilized world.

Even more deplorable and mystifying was



May 2—that was Caryl Chessman's date with death. Opposite him is the gas chamber in San Quentin Prison, California, where he was executed.

the failure of the professional and academic criminologists of the Pacific Coast, and

involved and flouted in the Chessman case: integrity of the police, prevention of the third degree and speedy arraignment, honest and competent application of the principles and criminalistics—namely, scientific provision and presentation of evidence at the trial, a fair trial, reasonable sentencing, realistic handling of appeals with regard for the facts as well as the formalities of courtroom etiquette and judicial ritual, the repudiation of the death penalty, and rehabilitation of inmates as the goal of correctional treatment.

To bring out these facts in objective fashion would not have implied any personal sympathy for Chessman. It would only have involved defending the principles and integrity of criminal science and correctional philosophy. The defiance of these throughout the Chessman case had been given unprecedented



behaviour on the part of criminologists when the cards are down and intestinal fortitude is required. But it is right here that real courage and integrity are demanded much more than on the platform at annual meetings of the American Correctional Association.

The Chessman case, culminating in the gas chamber, is not only a staggering and permanent disgrace to American criminal jurisprudence and correctional philosophy; it has had, and will have greater repercussions abroad which will make it more difficult for the United States to support its position as the leader of the Free Nations. One of the foremost contentions of our spokesmen in this rôle has been the alleged superiority of American justice to that of totalitarian countries, or even most foreign countries of whatever predominant ideology.

The contemptible Russian purge trials have justly been a special target of our propaganda. Yet, while the procedure was more summary, drastic, and hence less hypocritical, it is doubtful if any single case in the brutal and bloody Russian purge trials of the mid-1930's represented a more glaring miscarriage of justice than the Chessman case.

Foreign critics of American justice have long pointed to the Mooney and Sacco-Vanzetti cases; to these they can now add the Chessman case, which has been far more widely publicised. This important point was stressed in a masterly statement by Erle Stanley Gardner, a trained and shrewd criminal lawyer and the most widely known writer of popular books on crime and criminals in the world today. It was sent to the Governor and Attorney General of California and to all members of the State Supreme Court on April 19, 1960.

The only man to gain

"We are presently engaged in an international conflict in the field of ideas. . . . I feel that our strongest weapon in this conflict (and it is a very important conflict) is to preserve the respect of other nations for the manner in which justice is administered in this country.

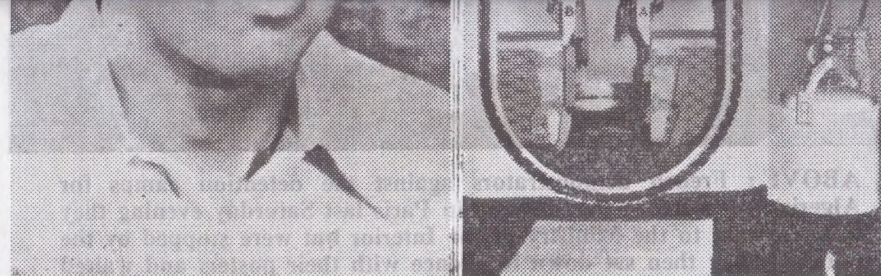
"The Chessman case has been so thoroughly publicised in foreign countries that it has international repercussions which cannot be ignored.

inal trial in the spring of 1948 to the gas chamber on May 2, 1960. This had challenged everything in the correctional philosophy on which the Department was founded, created and operated. The oft-proclaimed objective of the whole operational procedure of the Department is the rehabilitation of inmates. No inmate in the long history of San Quentin Prison ever gave more convincing evidence of even spectacular rehabilitation under the most difficult and discouraging surroundings and circumstances than Caryl Chessman.

This was a point about which the officials of the Department could have rallied with safety and devastating effect. Chessman's successful efforts at rehabilitation were rewarded by the gas chamber.

Why no comment?

The Department did "bravely" stand with Governor Brown in his disingenuous effort to get the death penalty abolished, but it did not courageously attack the travesty and fundamental illegality of imposing a death sentence on Chessman, even if guilty. While the Adult Authority does not have the legal right to revise death sentences, it surely does have the moral right to comment on such a travesty as the death sentence which was imposed on



May 2—that was Caryl Chessman's date with death. Opposite him is the gas chamber in San Quentin Prison, California, where he was executed.

the failure of the professional and academic criminologists of the Pacific Coast, and especially California, to play an open and effective role in opposing the judicial lynching of Chessman and expounding the essentials of the case in the framework of sound criminal science and enlightened correctional philosophy and procedure. Officials of the Department of Corrections could at least allege that they had their positions at stake in being cautious about frankness with respect to the implications of the Chessman case, but it is unlikely that any academic criminologist in California would have been risking his post if he lived up to his professional pretensions.

Everything for which scientific criminology is supposed to stand was flagrantly

and unparalleled publicity for a decade: the challenge was virtually thrown in the faces of the criminologists. They could not pretend ignorance.

If any leading California criminologist took any firm, professional and almost mandatory moral stand against the degradation of his science and professional ethics it escaped my notice. I wrote the two out-standing academic criminologists in the state, and they are leaders in the subject in the whole nation, urging a rational statement on the case for public enlightenment. One failed to answer me at all, and the other gave convincing evidence that he had not even informed himself about any essentials of the case after more than a decade of resounding publicity, and would not have been inclined to speak out honestly if he had been informed.

Why the silence?

Several professors were reported to have appealed to the Governor in the final crisis, but they were professors of history, literature and the like; no professors of criminology were listed among them. It would appear that, at least in California, criminology is currently a fairweather science which becomes vocal only when it can back up some momentarily popular drive for a general humanitarian objective previously launched by the Parent-Teachers Association or some comparable body.

In short, while the lawyers and judges closed ranks to protect the malodorous judicial record of Judge Fricke in the Chessman case, the enlightened criminologists did not close ranks to protect the principles and practices of their correctional philosophy from fatal association with judicial unity upon action which challenged the very foundations of criminal science and the rehabilitatory treatment of delinquents.

This is not, unfortunately, unprecedented

Governor and Attorney General of California and to all members of the State Supreme Court on April 19, 1960.

The only man to gain

"We are presently engaged in an international conflict in the field of ideas. . . . I feel that our strongest weapon in this conflict (and it is a very important conflict) is to preserve the respect of other nations for the manner in which justice is administered in this country."

"The Chessman case has been so thoroughly publicised in foreign countries that it has international repercussions which cannot be ignored."

"I feel that the execution of Caryl Chessman at this time and in view of the past history of the case will be very detrimental to the best interests of the administration of justice and can well cause irreparable injury to the United States of America in the whole field of international thinking."

To this I might add a paragraph from a personal letter by Mr. Gardner, which he has given me permission to quote:

"If the United States of America permits Caryl Chessman to be executed, in view of the history of the case and the nature of the crime, many people in many countries will be shocked beyond words. Chessman's execution will give ammunition to the enemies of the United States which will be fired with deadly accuracy and devastating effect for many years."

However great the travesty of justice the Chessman case may present, there is little logical reason for too much grief about Chessman. He was about the only one who probably gained by his execution. Unless he could have produced the real Red Light Bandit, the prejudice against him was so great that it is likely that he would have rotted in San Quentin prison.

Even if the Red Light Bandit had been assuredly produced it is quite possible that even this would not have won him freedom because of the absurdly long prison sentences imposed on him for the robberies with which he was charged. By his execution, deservedly or not, he was translated into immortal glory as a martyr and a hero in the eyes of tens of millions scattered all over the civilised world. His case will live in public opinion as long as that of Captain Dreyfus.

The real casualty was California criminal justice and the blow which the case will, even if unfairly, deal to the reputation of California as the world leader in advanced correctional ideals and practices.



ANSVAR announce:

Special low-cost insurance for all abstainers

If you are wise enough not to drink you can now benefit financially by obtaining their insurance from Ansvar, who are able to offer very favourable rates because they restrict their policy holders to abstainers only.

**To ANSVAR INSURANCE CO., LTD. (Dept. PN.6)
2 WHITE LION COURT, CORNHILL, E.C.3**

I am an abstainer. Please send full particulars of your special Insurance benefits.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

POLICIES AVAILABLE:

- ★ Motor, Motor Cycle and Scooter, Householder and Houseowner, Caravan and Camping Equipment.

If you are a total abstainer, fill in the coupon now.

By Sybil Morrison

EXPERIMENT IN DEATH

... no army is beaten until it has lost faith and confidence. These men had, at that moment, and it would be a long time before they recovered them again.—The Sunday Times, Goronwy Rees, May 29, 1960.

THESE words do not refer to Germans or Japanese, nor to the British lined up under the blazing hell on earth of Dunkirk; they are taken from a description of the abortive and appalling Dieppe raid in 1942.

There are a considerable number of descriptions available in published books or documents of the dreadful carnage of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; many people have written of the slaughter at the Dardanelles and of Dunkirk; the horrible tortures of a nuclear attack have been described by Nevill Shute in *ON THE BEACH*, and more baldly in official pamphlets.

Only the mentally deficient to-day can be unaware of the horrible torments men have invented to use upon their fellow men. For those who, in the last resort, still put their faith in war, excuses and justification for the worst of these sufferings and tragedies are always to be found in the need to defeat the enemy and secure victory.

But the raid upon Dieppe was not an attempt to do either of these things; it was not planned to open a "second front" attack; it was not intended to force the defences along the coast of France for the purposes of so-called "liberation"; it was nothing more, nothing less, than an experiment.

It was an experiment with men who had been trained for months and months in advance of the planned date; they were at the peak of physical fitness; they were ready for the slaughter-house; casualties were expected and plans made for dealing with them.

★

These men, conveniently called "assault forces," were to be put ashore by the Navy; they were to be protected by a covering barrage from the destroyers' six-inch guns, and the air force whose main objective was to bring out the German aircraft in an endeavour to shoot them down. The

Nuclear submarine fleet could kill 960,000,000

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

DETAILS have now been published of the comprehensive US action project against Polaris missile-launching nuclear submarines.

The action—sponsored by the Committee for Non-violent Action—continues throughout June, July and August.

Polaris is the name given by the US Navy to a nuclear weapon for massive retaliation. Admiral Burke has called it a "strictly retaliatory weapon system." Speaking before a Senate Armed Services sub-committee on January 29, 1959, the US Chief of Naval Operations continued: "It has no mission except retaliation; no mission except to destroy Russia if she wants to start something. This is the only thing the weapon is good for."

IMPERSONAL DESTRUCTION

Each submarine carries at least 16 missiles. These ships cost over \$100,000,000 each (cheaper than other missile systems) and have been called "the most complex things ever built by man."

Each missile has a range of over 1,500 miles and carries an H-bomb warhead of over one megaton (i.e., equivalent to over 1,000,000 tons of TNT).

The fleet of 50 submarines will be able to launch an attack six times greater than one which the Rand Corporation estimated would kill 160,000,000 Americans in 36 hours.

Captain J. B. Osborn, of the first Polaris submarine *George Washington*, was asked how he felt about the act of unleashing the missiles. "I've never given it any thought," he was quoted in the *Norwich* (Connecticut) *Bulletin* of December 26. "If we have to hit, we'll hit. And there won't be a second's hesitation."

Polaris, says the Committee for Non-violent Action, "will virtually end hopes for controlled disarmament." In its place the Committee offers a radical alternative including unilateral disarmament, non-violent resistance, economic readjustment programmes and massive aid to under-developed nations.

PERSONAL ACTION

It also commends "personal action that does not leave ending the arms race up to the Government." It suggests that people can leave work in military industries, refuse to pay federal taxes for war or serve in the armed forces, stop co-operating with civil defence drills—and "practice brotherhood with all men in their daily living."

The Committee's action is based on New London and Groton, Connecticut, where the Electric Boat division of General Dynamics Corporation holds the major contracts for building Polaris submarines. These two summer resorts lie on Long Island Sound, 110 miles from Boston and 100 miles from New York.

PEACE NEWS, June 3, 1960—3.

Moral predicament

ACCORDING to the 28th chapter of the Book of Proverbs, "He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent."

If true, this placeth us, the staff and directors of Peace News, in an embarrassing moral predicament.

For although we are actually innocent of the sin of speedy enrichment, we find ourselves in fact wishing we could lose our innocence.

It's true that at the moment we do not know how to lose it. Though sharing amongst ourselves a wide assortment of talents and abilities, financial enterprise is not among them. But that does not alter the fact that, if we only knew how, we would make haste to be rich.

I must further confess that we bear within our hearts the root of all evil: the love of money.

You may say that it is not money we love but the cause for which we need it. Thank you, but we cannot honestly accept that exonerate. As moralists we cannot separate means from ends. Therefore we love money.

We appeal to you to do what you can to relieve us of this burden on our consciences. Not being rich yourselves you cannot render us entirely sinless. But you might at least modify the urgency of our craving for this demoralising substance by sending as much of it as you can spare.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since May 20: £23 14s.

Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £550 13s. 7d.

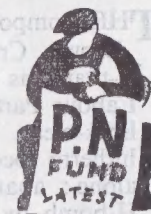
Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: £1.

Still needed: £1,949.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

AFTER YEARS IN JAIL...

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN, known as the "Frontier Gandhi," has been disqualified from public life for six years.



nothing more, nothing less, than an experiment.

It was an experiment with men who had been trained for months and months in advance of the planned date; they were at the peak of physical fitness; they were ready for the slaughter house; casualties were expected and plans made for dealing with them.

★

These men, conveniently called "assault forces," were to be put ashore by the Navy; they were to be protected by a covering barrage from the destroyers' six-inch guns, and the air force whose main objective was to bring out the German aircraft in an endeavour to shoot them down. The "assault force," which never got further than the foot of the promenade wall, was to have penetrated into Dieppe, destroyed particular objectives, and proceeded with an orderly withdrawal.

It was an experiment made with a wanton and appalling disregard for human lives, and it failed. The men who landed on that beach, confident in the commanders who had arranged and ordered the project; sure of the men who had trained and tutored them; certain of the overwhelming might of the British Navy and Air Force, were in fact mowed down in their thousands with shell-fire, machine-guns and high explosive bombs.

They never reached Dieppe; they never knew anything but the hot beaches running with blood as fire poured upon them from land, sea and air; the few that were saved, the men that were brought back from the hideous holocaust, were defeated in spirit as well as in battle. "They had been flung," Goronwy Rees writes, "into a battle far more horrible than anything for which they had been prepared," and it was then, at that moment of rescue, that these men were beaten, and looked upon their rescuers without faith or confidence.

A combat with the enemy for the purpose of capturing some position which will make it possible to push on to further victories, is something that any soldier can understand and accept, but a ferocious and relentless struggle for no purpose than to gain some information, which ended before it began in such disillusionment and disaster, must surely give even the most convinced believer in war cause to think again.

It was not toy soldiers, but human beings with whom the experiment was made; a few, shattered and broken, returned; the rest lay dead upon the blood-stained sands. Never before have so many died for so little. This is war in all its futility and bitterness, its ruthlessness and brutality; another major war and there may be no one to tell the tale; there is only one answer: War—We Say No.

ally end hopes for controlled disarmament." In its place the Committee offers a radical alternative including unilateral disarmament, non-violent resistance, economic readjustment programmes and massive aid to under-developed nations.

PERSONAL ACTION

It also commends "personal action that does not leave ending the arms race up to the Government." It suggests that people can leave work in military industries, refuse to pay federal taxes for war or serve in the armed forces, stop co-operating with civil defence drills—and "practice brotherhood with all men in their daily living."

The Committee's action is based on New London and Groton, Connecticut, where the Electric Boat division of General Dynamics Corporation holds the major contracts for building Polaris submarines. These two summer resorts lie on Long Island Sound, 110 miles from Boston and 100 miles from New York.

Eight-day walks from these large cities will be held to the area. A major programme of peace education in the district has been started, and a headquarters opened in New London. From August 15 the project will be opened to civil disobedience "if there are those who feel conscientiously moved to undertake this form of action."

The Committee for Non-violent Action is at 158 Grand Street, Room 10, New York City 13, NY. (Walker 5-9415).

A test firing for the Polaris H-bomb missile.

US Navy photo.

The Bomb: Further protests

MANY influential Canadians have given their support to a nationwide campaign against nuclear weapon tests.

Developing from the Montreal Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards it has now become a national committee, with Dr. H. L. Keenleyside (Director of Public Administration at UN and former Director-General of Technical Assistance at UN) as Provisional Chairman.

A national convention of the committee is to be held this month to decide on future action and to adopt a constitution.

The Montreal Committee, announcing the new movement, say that the facts about Strontium 90 and other unknown radioactive poisons in food have not been truly assessed. Far too many remain in ignorance of the facts. Information has, in some cases, been deliberately suppressed by official bodies who feel that to tell the truth would be to cause unnecessary panic.

★

BELFAST had its first nuclear disarmament march on May 14.

The Chairman of the Northern Ireland

Labour Party, Alderman W. R. Boyd, MP, said at the close that "We will continue to march until every last bullet is on the scrap heap." He reminded listeners that his Party had come out in favour of unilateral disarmament.

Together with the Rev. Alex Watson and Hugh Brock, Editor of *Peace News*, he had led over 300 marchers through the city to an open-air meeting on the Blitz Square.

Students from the Queen's University, trade unionists, Catholics and Protestants, businessmen and a contingent from Eire made the event news for press, radio and TV.

★

THIRTY people marched 40 miles recently in a week-end parade through villages surrounding the Hampshire market town of Alton.

The march—organised by Alton and Farnham Youth CND—was round what would be the area of "irreparable damage" in the event of an H-bomb falling on the town. At each village the purpose of the march was explained over loudspeakers and leaflets were distributed.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: £1.

Still needed: £1,949.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, *Peace News*, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

AFTER YEARS IN JAIL...

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN, known as the "Frontier Gandhi," has been disqualified from public life for six years.

The decision, by a special Pakistan judicial tribunal in Lahore on May 19, was reported by *The Daily Telegraph* as being taken on the grounds that he had been detained at various periods for subversive activities.

A close and trusted friend of Gandhi, 70-year-old Ghaffar Khan succeeded to an astonishing degree in bringing the warlike Pathans of the North-West Frontier into a non-violent campaign for political freedom.

He formed a party known as "The People's Organisation" with a programme of full autonomy for all cultural and linguistic units of Pakistan, and a corps of volunteers, the Khudai Khidmitgars, dedicated to a life mission of service to the community.

This led to his arrest in 1948 on a charge of treasonable plotting. He was released in 1954 but was in and out of prison from 1955 until his release on April 4, 1959, because of age and ill-health.

Briefly

Conscientious objector tribunals in Britain heard 666 cases in 1959, of which 19 were registered unconditionally and 363 were registered on condition they undertook specified civilian work, the Minister of Labour told Leslie Hale, MP, in a Parliamentary Written Answer on May 23.

Swiss conscientious objector Gerald-Paul Jousson was sentenced on May 19 to six months' jail by the first division of the military tribunal.

Seven convictions for spying for the Soviet Union or its allies in Britain since 1945 were reported by the Home Secretary on May 23.

Labour's new stance

THE composition of the sub-committee—Messrs. Brown, Crossman, Healey and Morgan Phillips—that has been appointed to prepare a draft Labour Party armaments policy makes its general lines clear. The policy will be the one which has hitherto been advocated by the Liberal Party alone: abandonment of the manufacture of the H-bomb by Britain, continued military co-operation with NATO, adjustment of the country's military contribution to the continued possession of the H-bomb by the USA, and the consequent expansion and development of "conventional" war preparations in Britain.

The presence of Mr. Morgan Phillips on the committee will doubtless ensure that for the time being there shall be no indiscreet candour about the consequent desirability of the resumption of measures of compulsory military service. That will be for later. And there will doubtless be heavy emphasis on the need for securing measures of disarmament through the process of multilateral negotiation and a call for more vigour in the pursuance of such a policy.

The Labour Party will thus be able to anticipate the Government in the reconstruction of a "defence" policy on these lines, and will have provided itself with a critical stance from which to attack Government policy and an advantageous situation when the Government has later to adopt the same conclusions.

Emotion and realism

IN his recent television interview Mr. Gaitskell said that "some people who were emotionally inclined to say that we don't need any defence" may have had second thoughts after what had happened in Paris. What that really means is this: the Labour Party leadership hopes that the emotional reaction to Mr. Khrushchev's part in bringing about the collapse of summit discussions will persuade Aldermaston marchers and other critics of the policy of the political parties to abandon support for unilateral action. It would thus be possible to bring about Labour Party unity round a military policy founded on British reliance on the US possession of the H-bomb.

It is a normal "ploy" among politicians to assume that those who seek a unilateral approach to disarmament are motivated by their emotions, or are the "lunatic fringe" or are "extremists," while those who propose to found policy on threat and counter-threat are the sane, the realists, and the moderate men. There could in fact hardly be a policy more extreme than that which is based on a willingness to rely upon a weapon that will destroy the human race at the rate of millions at a single stroke. The policy of the unilateral approach can be based on realistic calculation, although doubtless emotion is involved in it as in every human impulse to thought and action. Mr. Gaitskell has only to pay attention to many

COMMENTARY

By

J. Allen Skinner

has ever confronted mankind. The difference here between Mr. Gaitskell and those who have been challenging his policy is one that reduces the differences between Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Macmillan to very small matters of detail indeed.

"The deterrent" is a term that has been introduced for common political use only with the advent of the H-bomb, but it really brings no new conception into military calculations, only a new and terrible sequel when the calculations once again prove to be mistaken. *Si vis pacem, para bellum* was the earlier way of propounding the "deterrent" idea, and it antedates by centuries the coming of nuclear arms; and how little truth it has embodied may be ascertained by a reading of the bloody pages of history. The failure of deterrent war preparation in the past, however, has only resulted in death and misery for multitudes of men and women; its future failure threatens the destruction of the human race.

A choice of risks

THOSE who set the "realistic" advocate of war preparation against the "emotional" advocate of its voluntary renunciation assume that the latter is seeking to deprive the people of means to security that are available to them. There is not, and there cannot be, today any security, and the recognition of this fact must govern any genuinely realistic calculations as to policy. There can only be a choice of risks, and it is the unilateralist who is facing most squarely what is the character of those risks.

The politicians speak of "defence" and leave it to be inferred that what is involved for Britain is the power of resistance to an invasion of these islands. But when the details of the type of war preparation required come to be discussed it is not this that occupies the strategists in whatever wing they may be located in whatever political party. When, for instance, Mr. Crossman is advocating the resumption of a form of compulsory military service what he is having regard to is the demands of possible operations in the Mediterranean, in Arabia and elsewhere.

The maintenance of military bases in Malta, Gibraltar, Cyprus and Aden, and the computation as to the forces required for their defence, have nothing to do with saving Britain from invasion. They are strategic points of value to a policy aimed at seeking to determine the relationships of nations by the pressures and counterpressures of destructive power.

It is of course true that in giving up arms Britain would be abandoning the possibility of resisting invasion if any

the fiasco of the Blue Streak has driven that fact home. It has not yet achieved sufficient realism to face what should be an equally obvious fact: that there is no point in seeking to be a junior great power by the grace and favour of the USA.

The great contribution Britain could now make to the new international politics called for would be through the unqualified abandonment of power politics. This would be done through the voluntary renunciation of military preparation and the equal renunciation of reliance upon American military power. This renunciation of disastrously obsolete policies should be accompanied by the initiation of international co-operation for the full utilisation of the new sources of power for the benefit of mankind in its totality, and directed in the first place to the assistance to new standards of the poverty-ridden peoples.

Testing time for CND . . .

THE projected new orientation of Labour Party policy will prove a testing time both for the supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and for pacifists.

In the CND there have been gathered together people holding a variety of different and frequently conflicting views, and with many of them accepting a first loyalty to the Labour Party whatever its views regarding military preparation. Some of these may perhaps be satisfied by what may be called the Shinwell-Crossman-Wigg point of view that will now govern the findings of the drafting sub-committee and is likely to be accepted by the Executive and adopted by the Annual Conference.

These will now be shed from the Campaign, and there should be no effort to retain them by obscuring the difference between the Campaign's unilateral approach and the multilateral approach that will now be given extra emphasis as Labour Party policy. These are not policies that differ merely in degree or in subordinate detail. They represent two completely different and contradictory approaches to the problem. I personally believe that the endeavour to make disarmament depend upon general agreement has become completely impracticable. Whether I am right in this or not, it obviously involves completely different calculations from the unilateral approach. It is a continuation of the attempt to obtain peace through the politics of power.

. . . and for pacifists

PACIFISTS are also now confronted with a vital choice.

They will have to make up their minds how seriously they hold their views. *The Guardian* recently remarked of an intervention on pacifist lines by Mr. Emrys Hughes that of course nobody felt the need to take it seriously. I do not mention this as a ground for criticism of Emrys Hughes personally. On the contrary; of all pacifists in the House of Commons he is the most active and the most effective.

But the attitude here taken by *The Guardian* is one that is constantly manifested in regard to pacifists both inside and outside Parliament. It is a manner of regarding the pacifist that can only be maintained if he himself is largely in agreement with it. The pacifist case today

policy of the political parties to abandon support for unilateral action. It would thus be possible to bring about Labour Party unity round a military policy founded on British reliance on the US possession of the H-bomb.

It is a normal "ploy" among politicians to assume that those who seek a unilateral approach to disarmament are motivated by their emotions, or are the "lunatic fringe" or are "extremists," while those who propose to found policy on threat and counter-threat are the sane, the realists, and the moderate men. There could in fact hardly be a policy more extreme than that which is based on a willingness to rely upon a weapon that will destroy the human race at the rate of millions at a single stroke. The policy of the unilateral approach can be based on realistic calculation, although doubtless emotion is involved in it as in every human impulse to thought and action. Mr. Gaitskell has only to pay attention to many of the advocates of "the deterrent" to perceive how much emotion comes into the advocacy of the policy he advocates, and what is the quality of that emotion!

Details and principles

THERE is much to be said in favour of Mr. Gaitskell's view that the working out in detail of policy should be the function of a government and should not be dictated by a political party. The basic issue that has been dividing the Labour Party, however, is not a matter of detail but the most important political question that

of resistance to an invasion of these islands. But when the details of the type of war preparation required come to be discussed it is not this that occupies the strategists in whatever wing they may be located in whatever political party. When, for instance, Mr. Crossman is advocating the resumption of a form of compulsory military service what he is having regard to is the demands of possible operations in the Mediterranean, in Arabia and elsewhere.

The maintenance of military bases in Malta, Gibraltar, Cyprus and Aden, and the computation as to the forces required for their defence, have nothing to do with saving Britain from invasion. They are strategic points of value to a policy aimed at seeking to determine the relationships of nations by the pressures and counterpressures of destructive power.

It is of course true that in giving up arms Britain would be abandoning the possibility of resisting invasion if any other government could perceive any advantage in undertaking such an invasion. What it would be much more obviously abandoning, however, would be the desire and intention of seeking to contribute to the settlement of the world's problems by threat and counter-threat. It would, that is to say, be abandoning power politics, and the abandonment of power politics has come to be the only way in which Britain can play a worthy part in the world's affairs.

The Labour Party has taken 15 years to come to a realisation that Britain can no longer be in the foremost ranks of the "Great Powers"—the lesson to be learned from

... and for pacifists

PACIFISTS are also now confronted with a vital choice.

They will have to make up their minds how seriously they hold their views. *The Guardian* recently remarked of an intervention on pacifist lines by Mr. Emrys Hughes that of course nobody felt the need to take it seriously. I do not mention this as a ground for criticism of Emrys Hughes personally. On the contrary; of all pacifists in the House of Commons he is the most active and the most effective.

But the attitude here taken by *The Guardian* is one that is constantly manifested in regard to pacifists both inside and outside Parliament. It is a manner of regarding the pacifist that can only be maintained if he himself is largely in agreement with it. The pacifist case today needs to be taken much more seriously than this. It represents a far more realistic appreciation of the situation today than is manifested in the course of the blinkered militaristic considerations urged in the Parliamentary debates.

The major disabling factor for pacifists is the refusal to face the fact that the difference in outlook of the pacifists separates them much more fundamentally from Messrs. Brown, Gaitskell, Crossland and Wigg than these latter are separated from Messrs. Macmillan and Watkinson. Pacifists will have begun to treat their own policy seriously when recognition of this fact comes to be expressed in their actions.

Money to burn

THE Thor H-missile project has so far cost Britain "about £6,000,000," the Secretary of State for Air told the House of Commons on May 25.

"No exact figures," he added, "are available of running costs during the build-up, but we estimate the annual cost for the whole force at between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000."

Mr. William Ross, MP, told him that the Thor missile "has all the weaknesses of one (Blue Streak) that has been discarded."

... but not for the victims

BRITAIN raised over £8,000,000 for World Refugee Year, it was announced on Monday evening.

The Prime Minister stated that the Government's contribution was being doubled from £200,000 to £400,000.

Will the U.S. re-think?

THE Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Malinovsky, told a Kremlin conference

on Monday that he had ordered rocket squadrons to strike back at any bases used by aircraft to intrude on the airspace of Russia or her allies. Such aircraft could be carrying a hydrogen bomb.

The same day the Norwegian Foreign Minister told Parliament in Oslo that since the U2 spy plane incident on May 1 Norway had given no permits for spy flights by allied aircraft "and they will not be given in future without the special approval of the Government."

On May 12, he said, it had been confirmed that the U2 aircraft had planned to land in Bodoe, North Norway.

Auschwitz suspects

ABOUT 950 suspected Nazi criminals are being investigated by the Public Prosecutor's office in Frankfurt.

Most of them are believed to have been members of the SS units that served at

Auschwitz concentration camp, where—according to the camp commandant's own estimate—3,000,000 people died.

Twenty-six of the most seriously incriminated suspects have been arrested, and it is expected that a charge of murder will be brought.

German rockets (contd)

THE West German Army has signed a contract worth about £7,234,000 for the purchase of guided ground-to-ground rockets.

The contract is with Nord-Aviation, the French state-owned aviation company, which announced it on May 18. A *Reuter* report from Paris that day said that the rockets, which are "particularly accurate," are mainly for use against tanks.

Blue Streak, Britain's abandoned long-range missile, "would have required eventually

3,600 technicians," the Secretary of State for Air told the House of Commons on May 25.

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

Editorial and Publishing Office:

5 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Tel. TERminus 8248

Cables: HOWPA, London.

Distribution office for North America:

20 S. Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa

Registered as a newspaper. Entered as second class matter, Post Office, Philadelphia, Pa.

STANDARD RATES

Great Britain and Abroad (Sea Mail)

Three months 8s.; six months 16s.; one year 30s.

AIRMAIL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

N. Africa and Middle East

Three months 8s. 8d.; six months 17s. 4d.;

India, South, East and West Africa

America and South-East Asia

Three months, 9s. 9d.; six, 19s. 6d.; year, 38s.

Australia and Far East

Three months, 10s. 10d.; six, 21s. 8d.; year, 42s.

Air Express Edition

to US and all parts of America, from our US Sales Office, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa. \$5 year, \$1 'three months' trial.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Letters to the Editor

Defence and employment

YOUR correspondent C. F. Bause (PN, May 27) has done a service in drawing attention to the implications of "full employment" regardless of what type of employment, from which wage and salary earners draw their earnings.

Prosperity in the United Kingdom to-day means everyone in a job, and the high level of employment about which the public relations officers of the Board of Trade and of the Treasury speak so enthusiastically is mainly due to the simple fact that hundreds of thousands of skilled and unskilled workers—manual workers, administrators and civil servants—are directly dependent on the appropriations of Parliament for missile manufacture, rocket development, nuclear submarines, aircraft, naval and military equipment and all the rest of the damn-fool "defence projects."

The fact is there is a large *mis*-employed population which would be better engaged on socially peaceful and useful pursuits, subsidised by the National Assistance Board, although they are in fact receiving national assistance, being economically useless compared with farm workers, farmers, productive manufacturers and commercial people dealing with useful types of business activity.

Not only is there at least five million of basically unemployed people engaged on useless "defence projects" but they are all encouraged to take a vested interest in their jobs by being paid high rates of wage and salary which bring "prosperity" not only to missile sites but also to new towns such as Stevenage.

As both Labour and Conservative Members of Parliament know this, and acquiesce in the continued falsification of official statistics, there exists for all practical purposes a coalition of Labour, Conservative and Liberal to the degree that each political group knows full well that it is not to their immediate advantage seriously to cut down on UK arms expenditure.

The 1914-18 World War solved the unemployed's problem by giving them jobs, or sending them to Passchaendale to be murdered; the 1937 rearmament campaign of

Chamberlain's Government, again agreed to by the Labour-Liberal rump, solved the problem of unemployment and redundancy questions.

And the political caucuses are, it seems, again ready to take the risk of another conflagration and a blood-bath for us all by turning their heads away from the ethical and moral obligations laid upon them in order to save votes and trouble from the arms workers, naval and air and military personnel, and the big industrial units, who all prefer a rake-off from the easy business of merchants of death.—A. HOPKINS, "Hazelwell," Down Green Lane, Wheatthampstead, Herts.

Schoolboy's revolt

THE news of Martin Hellicar's "revolt" (PN, May 13) against his school's Cadet Corps has awakened memories of my own exit from a similar, though not compulsory, corps into which I had been persuaded by my parents.

I, too, have been to compulsory lectures by military personnel; I found them somewhat pitiable, though I realise that they are also quite effective in their deceitful way. Between leaving the Combined Cadet Force and leaving school in Hampton (Middlesex) I have both made my personal tilt at the military windmill, and also introduced pacifism from outside by inviting Max Parker and Fred Moorhouse of the Fellowship of Reconciliation to speak on separate occasions to the school Student Christian Movement Group.

Although independent of the Head in choice of visiting speakers, this group is run by boys supervised by a small number of staff. One member of staff who is actively concerned is an officer in the Corps, and the Group's Secretary is Sergeant Major. No less are they personal friends of mine.

But where there is no active pacifist witness within a school the case will go unheard, and in most cases high pressure military propaganda will go untempered and unchallenged. I would strongly urge young schoolboy pacifists to get in where they can to fight at every opportunity the intellectual battle for the mind of the rising generation. Schoolgirls, too—and a dual role where non-pacifist boy friends are involved—for this issue matters. To pacifist parents, and pacifists who know young pacifists of non-pacifist homes, yours is a great responsibility.



Canon Raven dedicates the George Lansbury room in the new Peace News building. The gathering included the Chairman, Mr. Eric Bales, directors and staff of the St. Pancras Building Society (whose members had furnished the room and provided the portrait and plaque); officers of pacifist organisations; fellow-workers with George Lansbury, among them Muriel and Doris Lester, who had pioneered the Kingsley Hall venture in Bow, where George Lansbury lived; the Rev. James Fraser; Gwen Catchpool; Stuart Morris; Reginald Sorensen, MP; and Vera Brittain, Chairman of Peace News (right).

Canon Raven referred to George Lansbury as a saintly, dedicated man, living in this world yet "perfectly prepared to see his whole project, his whole personal career sacrificed rather than compromise principles or the faith that was in him."

The mark of Lansbury's statesmanship was that he never believed that laws and institutions, traditions and conventions, could take the place of right human relationships. "Please God, in the younger generation of those who share our conviction about human relationships, about the true character of peace and about the necessity of standing for that, we shall find those who can take advantage of the enormous opportunities at the present moment."

The brief ceremony was followed by a lunch at Friends House given by Mr. and Mrs. Bales.

Photo: Will Green.

NEWS MISCELLANY

APARTHEID PROTEST

From a Correspondent.

THE Negroes of South Africa are still laughing and dancing, but they say 'We laugh to keep ourselves from weeping. We dance so as not to die.' a German

traveller advisory service to help people plan their trip in advance and find the social peace action groups and programmes in which they are interested; the issuing of a Social Service and Social Action Groups Directory, including communities of work, peace and internationally-minded folk high schools, co-operative communities, work

As both Labour and Conservative Members of Parliament know this, and acquiesce in the continued falsification of official statistics, there exists for all practical purposes a coalition of Labour, Conservative and Liberal to the degree that each political group knows full well that it is not to their immediate advantage seriously to cut down on UK arms expenditure.

The 1914-18 World War solved the unemployed's problem by giving them jobs or sending them to Passchaendale to be murdered; the 1937 rearmament campaign of

as Stevenage. boys supervised by a small number of staff. One member of staff who is actively concerned is an officer in the Corps, and the Group's Secretary is Sergeant Major. No less are they personal friends of mine.

But where there is no active pacifist witness within a school the case will go unheard, and in most cases high pressure military propaganda will go untempered and unchallenged. I would strongly urge young schoolboy pacifists to get in where they can to fight at every opportunity the intellectual battle for the mind of the rising generation. Schoolgirls, too—and a dual role where non-pacifist boy friends are involved—for this issue matters. To pacifist parents, and pacifists who know young pacifists of non-pacifist homes, yours is a great responsibility indeed—encouraging and supporting young minds, channeling activity into every possible opening, especially in school and church societies and groups.—CHRISTOPHER HEWISH, Dalton Hall, Victoria Park, Manchester 14.

Daubing on walls

IS it not yet time enough that the supporters of the campaign for nuclear disarmament took note of the disadvantages of writing slogans on walls and bridges? Surely they can see that this form of airing their views puts people's back up instead of making the public more tolerant of our activities?

Owing to unforeseen circumstances I was unable to attend the Aldermaston march this year, but this gave me a chance to speak to non-pacifistic colleagues about the march. About half of them thought that the majority of the marchers were exhibitionists, the type who think nothing of defacing public buildings without really thinking of the general reaction.

I am sure that this is not so since I know many quiet, ordinary people in the CND of whom I could never think as "exhibitionists," but the fact remains a few irresponsible followers are giving the movement a bad name.

Marching, picketing and public meetings and discussions can all play a big part in spreading our cause far and wide, but the exhibitionists must be kept on "short leash" otherwise we cannot continue to gain as much support as we are getting at present. Daubing the walls of public buildings with hackneyed slogans does do far more harm than good I feel.—ROBIN MITCHELL, c/o Miss Bursey, 57 Langley Hill, Kings Langley, Herts.

ships. Please God, in the younger generation of those who share our conviction about human relationships, about the true character of peace and about the necessity of standing for that, we shall find those who can take advantage of the enormous opportunities at the present moment."

The brief ceremony was followed by a lunch at Friends House given by Mr. and Mrs. Bales.

Photo: Will Green.

NEWS MISCELLANY

APARTHEID PROTEST

From a Correspondent.

"THE Negroes of South Africa are still laughing and dancing, but they say 'We laugh to keep ourselves from weeping, we dance so as not to die,' " a German woman from South Africa reported on April 30 at a demonstration in Cologne, West Germany, at which coloured students from several universities in the Federal Republic protested against the brutal racial policies of the Union of South Africa.

The demonstration was supported by speakers from the Evangelical Church, the Christian Democratic Union, the Social Democratic Party, and the Trade Unions.

About 200 coloured students and over a thousand white people took part in the demonstration which, in spite of the intense excitement of the Africans, was not marred by any incidents.

WORK, STUDY, TRAVEL

The Servas open door hospitality programme offers free home hospitality to serious travellers primarily in Western Europe, India and North America, though there are scattered hosts in many other places. People with particular interests and people just eager to understand how other folk live, arriving in a strange country will discover they have many friends able to help them understand the deeper social questions when they go as Servas travellers. Particulars from Mrs. Monica Hobongwana, 32 Western Rd., Wylde Green, Birmingham, England.

SECRETARIES, correspondents or committee representatives from 10 countries met over Easter in Ghent, Belgium, to plan next year's work study travel programme.

Some of the decisions included a special invitation to people going to and from work camps to utilise Servas hospitality; a

traveller advisory service to help people plan their trip in advance and find the social peace action groups and programmes in which they are interested; the issuing of a Social Service and Social Action Groups Directory, including communities of work, peace and internationally-minded folk high schools, co-operative communities, work camp organisations for peace, social experiment centres, etc.



A VACATION IS TO BEGIN..

THE QUAKER APPROACH TO CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS

- A week long vacation-institute at Lake Winnepesaukee, N. H. July 30 - August 6, 1960.
- Outstanding speakers-discussions family rates, children's program.

WRITE: for illustrated brochure, American Friends Service Committee, 130-A Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

NEW SHERWOOD SCHOOL, EPSOM

A Co-educational, progressive, parent-owned school emphasising co-operation rather than competition, takes day and boarding pupils 5 to 18. EPSOM 9619

PEACE NEWS—AN ADVENTURE IN JOURNALISM

Speaker:

Hugh Brock

Tuesday, June 7, at 8 pm

Following the AGM at 7.30 pm of the Brighton Peace-Pledge Union

PAX GUEST HOUSE
17 Melville Rd., Seven Dials, Brighton

BUILD YOUR FUTURE

Wisely • Safely

Let Your Money Earn

3 3/4% FREE OF INCOME TAX

Interest accrues from date of investment

"Guide for Investors" sent on request

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY

For Social Saving

Total assets exceed £2,250,000

200, Finchley Road London, N.W.3

Get out of NATO

—VERDICT OF CND RALLY

IS the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament really prepared to accept, as a necessary implication of its policy, Britain's unilateral withdrawal from NATO?

This was almost the only question put, with variations, in the two-hour "Now Let Britain Lead" meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Thursday last week. Canon Collins was in the chair, and Mervyn Jones, Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, Kingsley Martin and R. W. Briginshaw (Natsopa) were questioned by Leonard Beaton, Defence Correspondent of the *Guardian*, Keith Kyle of the *Economist*, Timothy Raison, Editor of *Crossbow*, and Ludovic Kennedy.

The answers would seem to indicate that the Campaign's period of apparent wavering on this crucial point is at an end. All four Campaign representatives wanted withdrawal from NATO. "The break-up of the Alliance would be an excellent thing," said Mr. Briginshaw. "It is, after all, quite contrary to the United Nations Charter." Sir Stephen wanted us to say to the Americans: "We are with you one hundred per cent in the political and ideological struggle, but we contract out of the use of violence." Kingsley Martin believed NATO was break-

By David Boulton

ing up because "it is seen to be nothing more than an American convenience."

Mervyn Jones declared that withdrawal from the Alliance was not an act of Britain's washing her hands of involvement in the peace struggle.

"We are not suggesting that Britain should retire into a backwater. What we do say is that Britain, freed from and independent of cold war ties, could take a real lead in formulating new, positive policies for peace, and would be in a position, as a result of her independence, to put them into practice."

Opponents of the Campaign, he continued, could not have it both ways—saying on the one hand that Britain's voice carries so much weight that she must remain in the Western Alliance to exert influence, and on the other that her voice was of so little consequence that her adoption of neutralism

would have no effect on the rest of the world.

Did the Campaign, asked the interrogators, believe that America should also give up nuclear weapons? It did ("It took two years for the USA to follow us in resorting to violence during the last war," commented Sir Stephen King-Hall ironically, "and maybe within a couple of years they would follow us in repudiating it.") But what then, Ludovic Kennedy wanted to know, would deter Russia? Deter her from what? countered Sir Stephen. From permeation and ideological aggression? And how were nuclear weapons helping us do this?

He might have added that they would seem to be on the verge of failing to deter even massive nuclear aggression, since Pentagon generals were reported (*News Chronicle*, May 20) as "coming into the open with the view that the West can fight and win an all-out nuclear war" (the report goes on to say by just what stages they propose to do so), and the current *Peking Review*, declaring that China would survive an all-out assault, has a purple passage on the "victorious People" creating a "much higher and more beautiful civilisation" on the "debris of a dead imperialism."

THE TWO AFRICAN CONGRESSES

To the Editor

IN reply to Messrs. Tambo and Molotsi (PN, May 27)—firstly, I regret that someone in the introduction to my article described me as having "spent some weeks talking with African leaders." This is an exaggeration.

Secondly, although I was away from Accra for several days during Mr. Tambo's week in Ghana, I made at least six unsuccessful attempts to contact him during my last two days, and I regret very much that through no fault of his or mine there was insufficient time for an interview. I also regret not having talked privately with Mr. Makiwane whom I heard with great interest address the Conference. This was largely my fault, although we were, at different times, both out of Accra during

ing Messrs. Tambo and Makiwane at a future date.

Perhaps the interview with Dr. Dadoo of the Indian Congress (PN, May 20) will demonstrate that I did make efforts to talk with important representatives of the organisations affiliated with the Congress Alliance.

It pains me deeply to think that I may have either misrepresented the views of, or created any difficulties for, either Mr. Molotsi or the Pan-Africanist Congress—for I have great respect for him and his organisation.

Part of the misunderstanding may have arisen because of the deletion by the sub-editors from my original article before it appeared in print of the following paragraph:

the militancy and initiative offered by the Congress Alliance, including the ANC, since the end of the 1952 Defiance Campaign have left something to be desired.

Very strong criticism of the Pan-Africanists by ANC spokesmen has appeared in the press outside South Africa. It is obvious to all that *inside* South Africa these groups are rivals for the leadership of the African resistance to apartheid. However much one attempts to smooth over differences, intelligent readers of the press will ask why *two* groups? Is it really wrong to answer such criticism or the question "why"?

It does not really help to pretend that there are no differences or to charge, directly or indirectly, that the PAC is "racialist."

QUAKER WAY

On the
frontier

By TOM
WARDLE



SAILING down the Mediterranean is as good an occasion as any for reflecting upon the things that belong to peace.

At the time of writing this article I am doing both, on my way to Australia—I was going to say to take up the cudgels again in the cause of peace (how these military metaphors creep in); let me rather say to take up pen and voice for peace, freedom and, I trust, for love, in a territory rapidly increasing in population and wealth, the forthcoming United States of the Pacific.

I have for my bedside reading the new book of Quaker discipline, *CHRISTIAN FAITH AND PRACTICE IN THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS* (Friends Book Centre, London, 10s.).

It is a book of discipline in the pristine sense of that word, of "fellowship." It attempts to lay down no rules, but instead gives extracts of the writings and testimonies throughout Quaker history, from the seventeenth century to the present day. It is an impressive witness to what dimensions of meaning and depth men have found in their experiences.

It is this quality of integrity, of profundity, which compels respect and induces reflection. This is doubtless what the compilers—a special committee of London Yearly Meeting—had in mind. It is the Quaker way to lead men and women to a richer spiritual obedience, rather than to enforce it. It is a new departure in church discipline.



Clearly there is a need for any unified group to express the basis of its unity and require some measure of respect for that basis from among its members. But there is always the danger that theological formulas will lead to dogmatism, and disciplines to stultifying ecclesiastical authoritarianism. The Quakers have avoided both dangers, as is consistent with their tradi-

(PN, May 27)—firstly, I regret that someone in the introduction to my article described me as having “spent some weeks talking with African leaders.” This is an exaggeration.

Secondly, although I was away from Accra for several days during Mr. Tambo's week in Ghana, I made at least six unsuccessful attempts to contact him during my last two days, and I regret very much that through no fault of his or mine there was insufficient time for an interview. I also regret not having talked privately with Mr. Makiwane whom I heard with great interest address the Conference. This was largely my fault, although we were, at different times, both out of Accra during part of my stay there.

There were other important African leaders whom I was also unable to meet. However, I am looking forward to meet-

Perhaps the interview with Dr. Dadoo of the Indian Congress (PN, May 20) will demonstrate that I did make efforts to talk with important representatives of the organisations affiliated with the Congress Alliance.

It pains me deeply to think that I may have either misrepresented the views of, or created any difficulties for, either Mr. Molotsi or the Pan-Africanist Congress—for I have great respect for him and his organisation.

Part of the misunderstanding may have arisen because of the deletion by the sub-editors from my original article before it appeared in print of the following paragraph:

“The international sphere was also important. In facing the world, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress were uniting on a common foreign policy. Non-violent methods in South Africa would be far more effective if world opinion is focused on South Africa all the time and the United Nations puts into effect its resolution.”

Mr. Molotsi appealed, *not* for international support for the PAC as against the ANC, but for international action in opposition to apartheid.

The formation of a united front of PAC and ANC leaders on the international level of course presents them with certain limitations on dealing with the differences which exist between the two organisations in their approach to South Africa itself.

The words to which the writers of the letter object—“conservatism,” “inaction” and “Communist influences”—were not in quotation marks and thus it cannot be maintained that these were Mr. Molotsi's words. “Conservatism” and “inaction” are (I thought it would be understood by all) relative terms. They were my own.

I assumed that readers would interpret these terms as relative to the demands of the situation the non-Whites face and not as relative to the views of the South African Government, which regards even mild and politically vague dissent as subversive, radical, dangerous, Communist, etc., etc.

There have been observers in and out of South Africa with far more understanding of that country than I should ever claim who have said that—*relative to the revolutionary demands of the situation* and to the dangers of a tragic widespread outbreak of violence if a militant non-violent initiative were not given and maintained—

will again have left something to be desired. Very strong criticism of the Pan-Africanists by ANC spokesmen has appeared in the press outside South Africa. It is obvious to all that *inside* South Africa these groups are rivals for the leadership of the African resistance to apartheid. However much one attempts to smooth over differences, intelligent readers of the press will ask why *two* groups? Is it really wrong to answer such criticism or the question “why”?

It does not really help to pretend that there are no differences or to charge, directly or indirectly, that the PAC is “racialist.”

Concerning these differences, the PAC holds the view that the main responsibility for the liberation of the Africans rests on the Africans themselves, and that they must provide their own leadership and movement to do this.

In addition, it *remains* my impression—whatever may be the most tactful way to say it—that there have been differences which could be described as concerning the nature of the resistance movement, the pace and methods of non-violent action, and how to deal with those whose other political loyalties—including Communist in the narrow sense—at times takes precedence over their loyalty to African liberation.

It has not been my intention to stir up conflict and difficulties between the ANC and PAC representatives abroad, or to divert attention from the evil policies of the South African Government.

While I must, of course, respect the judgment of those directly involved, it is my view that an appreciation for one major resistance group does *not* weaken world opinion against apartheid itself, and a recognition of the problems of resistance movements does *not* mean support for the oppressor. A recognition of problems of resistance movements may actually assist the cause of liberation, although it might be detrimental to other political objectives.

World opinion stands united against apartheid. There can be none who are not impressed with the difficulties of any such resistance, and with the heroism of anyone acting against the South African Government. Opposition to apartheid will not be weakened, and may even be strengthened, by a recognition of the problems and aims of resistance movements in that difficult situation—**GENE SHARP, Institute for Social Research, Arbiensgate 4, Oslo, Norway.**

reflection. This is doubtless what the compilers—a special committee of London Yearly Meeting—had in mind. It is the Quaker way to lead men and women to a richer spiritual obedience, rather than to enforce it. It is a new departure in church discipline.

★

Clearly there is a need for any unified group to express the basis of its unity and require some measure of respect for that basis from among its members. But there is always the danger that theological formulas will lead to dogmatism, and disciplines to stultifying ecclesiastical authoritarianism. The Quakers have avoided both dangers, as is consistent with their tradition, in producing a document which while explicit as to the corpus of Quaker experience, depends for its authority upon no one man, or even council of men, but upon the whole company of preachers and writers and workers who have given Quakerism to the world.

It is not a book about men seeking God. It is a book about men for whom God is an essential life-giving presupposition which makes life possible and dramatic and joyous. One section from the group on the Peace Testimony of the Friends describes this witness as arising out of the belief that “God is not alone the God of things as they are but the God of things as they are meant to be.” It can be read and possessed, by people of all traditions, apart from Quakers. And I am sure the Friends would not mind.

Another fascinating recent book is a collection of essays by the stimulating theologian Paul Tillich. A refugee from Hitler, he was the founder of the religious socialist movement in the thirties, and is now a professor of Harvard Divinity School. The best way to describe him is to say that he is unlike any theologian you are likely to have met; though there are now, fortunately, many young preachers and lecturers nurtured by Tillich spreading some of his light and sanity abroad. His book is **THEOLOGY OF CULTURE (OUP, 18s.)**

Also to have is a rather glossy first number of an Oxford University Christian magazine—*Breakthrough*. I am disappointed. The magazine, like the boasted Oxford “revival,” seems simply to be saying the same sort of thing as its elders, only in a snappier sort of way. There is a problem of content as well as form in religion. “Breakthrough” hasn't broken through that far yet.

Post free trial

8 PEACE NEWS 2s. 6d.

(US 13 weeks for 1\$)

Please send Peace News for 8 weeks to the name and address below.

I enclose £

NAME

ADDRESS

PEACE NEWS

5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

or hand this to your newsagent

Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly.

To newsagent's name

NAME

ADDRESS

Note to newsagent: Peace News is published as a national newspaper at the retail price of 6d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the publishers at 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

CLASSIFIED

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address Box No. replies: Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

MEETINGS

KINGS WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke St., Oxford St. (Bond St. Underground). Whit Sunday, June 5, 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. The Rev. Claud Colman.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

KESWICK—Visit the Lake District for your holiday this year. Highfield Vegetarian House, The Heads, offers beautiful scenery, good food, comfort, friendly atmosphere. Write Mr. and Mrs. Lusby (V.C.A. Members) Tel. 508.

SNOWDONIA NATIONAL PARK. Vegetarian Guest House overlooking Cardigan Bay. Mountains, sands and sea bathing. Also furnished rooms, own kitchen. Trevor & Mary Jepson, Brackenhurst, Fairbourne, Merioneth.

HOVEL BOATS OFFER the only horse-drawn boat holiday. 3d stamp for details to The Watch House, Stretford, Manchester. Prices from 6 guineas, according to route and period.

VEGETARIAN HOLIDAY CENTRE, July 30 to August 13, Blackpill, Nr. Swansea, gateway of the lovely Gower Peninsula. Comfortable single rooms, interior sprung beds, attractive menus, good fellowship. A few remaining vacancies. Particulars: London Vegetarian Society, 53, Marloes Rd., London, W.8.

A CENTRE OF FELLOWSHIP—Great Frenches Park, Copthorne, Crawley Down, Sussex. Offers excellent facilities for all in quest of restful country holidays; small group welcomed too. Write: Rev Arthur Peacock.

PERSONAL

DUPLICATING. shorthand, typing, translations. Mabel Eyles, 10 Beaconsfield Rd., London, N.11. ENT 3324.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

ARTISTIC LADY wishes to contact professional gentleman with car. North-west England. Age about 60. Box No. 855.

THINKING OF BUYING ■ new watch? If you care to send a note of the style and price you have in mind, I shall be glad to send details of what I can offer. Appro. available. Aubrey Brocklehurst, 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. EUS 5501.

LITERATURE

BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY—vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the 'Socialist Leader'. Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsgator or from 48, Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1., and 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

PEACEFARE—The leaflet journal for spreading the concept of Jerusalemite Catholicism. Imperative reading for all, particularly Christian pacifists. Send s.a.c. for free copy to: Mr. George M. Greger, Clovelly Camp, Box Hill Rd., Nr. Tadworth, Surrey.

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63, Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leics.

EDUCATION

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. (Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32, Primrose Hill Rd., London NW3, PRImrose 5686).

BURGESS HILL SCHOOL, High Canons, Well

PORTUGAL PREPARES FOR WAR IN AFRICA

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



A MILITARY tribunal at Luanda in Portuguese Angola, meeting behind closed doors, is now trying 41 persons on charges of subversion. They could be sentenced to death. If found guilty they will certainly be sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

An interesting fact is that five of the accused are Whites. A special correspondent of *The Times* has reported (27-5-60) that perhaps two-thirds of the 170,000 Portuguese in Angola are opposed to the Salazar dictatorship.

This does not mean that they are pro-African, though the earliest organisation in Angola calling for moderate steps towards self-government was initiated by White residents. It does mean that the Portuguese regime is disintegrating.

An effort has been made to get a Portuguese-speaking lawyer from South America to the trial, but success is not expected. This leads me to make a suggestion to the headquarters of the Pan-African Movement in Accra.

Six escape

Would it not be possible to arrange that at least one African "contact" should be on the spot when political trials take place in any African country? One remembers how African and Asian lawyers volunteered to assist at the Kenyatta trial in Kenya seven years ago. They were not all allowed into Kenya, and Angola and some other European dictatorships in Africa would probably still exclude lawyers even as observers.

But it ought to be possible to make sure that someone is in any town where a significant trial is being held in order to gather information and to assist the prisoners and their dependents. I need hardly say that friends of the African cause in Britain would wish to co-operate.

The Luanda trial is symbolical of what is happening in Angola. I have told earlier (PN, Feb. 5) how an Angola Peoples' Union had been established and how it had smuggled out six representatives to make contacts in other parts of Africa and to tell the Angola story in Europe and America.

of independence in neighbouring Belgian Congo on June 30. There are 1,500 miles of common frontier between the two territories and the frontier is entirely artificial.

The same tribes, even the same families, the same languages, the same traditions and customs, exist across this imaginary geographical line. Cousin John will be the citizen of an independent Republic on June 30. Cousin James will remain the slave of a dictatorship.

This intimate association is particularly true of the Bakongo tribe on the coast. The Bakongo continue to take pride in their powerful kingdom which was divided into three parts in the European share out at Berlin in 1885: one part to France, one to Belgium, one to Portugal. Both the French and Belgian regions become independent this year, and their leaders look to the goal of reunion, including the Bakongo in Angola.

With reason, the Portuguese dictators are frightened how the Bakongo in Angola will react on June 30. If Cousin John is free, why not Cousin James?

The Times reports that about 2,000 troops from Portugal have been brought to Angola during the past year, making, with the resident forces, a total of 20,000. They are equipped with Panhard armoured cars, quick-firing field guns, and troop transporters. New barracks are being built capable of accommodating additional forces.

Gunboat patrol

Two motor gun boats, shortly to be joined by a frigate, are patrolling the coast and rivers. Airfields are being built and military planes are to be based in Angola for the first time this summer. Clearly, the Portuguese are getting ready for a show-down.

These military preparations are being carried out particularly on the frontier of

the Legislature of the 2,250,000 Africans are to be left in a minority to the representatives of the 65,000 Europeans, for this year at least. But the Independence Movement is to have representation at the conference to review the Federal Constitution.

That's some news for Kenneth to take back. Let's hope that his Party isn't suppressed throughout Northern Rhodesia before then!

Violence?

We must face the fact that an ugly psychology is arising in Northern Rhodesia, particularly in the copperbelt, where impatience is with difficulty responding to discipline. Kenneth insisted, however, that African violence is arising not from the Independence Party, but from hooligans intoxicated at the beer halls.

These beer halls are owned by municipalities and the profits are used for African social welfare! Kenneth alleged that Africans are encouraged to drink by the British authorities so that the White ratepayers may be saved from the duty of bearing community costs. The African women members of the Independence Party have organised boycotts of the beer halls.

So there is Angola, between independence-near Belgian Congo and crisis-present British Central Africa. Angola cannot be isolated. All the troops of Portugal will not stop Africa's freedom.

Meanwhile, we who are British should remember that Portugal is our oldest ally. A Britain which stood for freedom in the world could use this historic association to suggest to M. Salazar that our friendship might be more uninhibited if he refrained from Luanda trials and military repressions of liberty.

But even as I write this sentence awkward words block my mind—words like Hola, Banda, Kaunda. Who are we to cast

BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY—vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Three pence weekly. Obtainable from your newsagent or from 48, Dundas St., Glasgow, C.I., and 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Ctee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

PEACEFARE—The leaflet journal for spreading the concept of Jerusalemite Catholicism. Imperative reading for all, particularly Christian pacifists. Send s.a.e. for free copy to: Mr. George M. Gregory, Clovelly Camp, Box Hill Rd., Nr. Tadworth, Surrey.

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63, Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leics.

EDUCATION

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32, Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

BURGESS HILL SCHOOL, High Canons, Well End, Barnet. Freedom and self-government. Small classes. Boarders and day children. Boys and girls 7—18 years. ELStree 5560.

SITUATIONS VACANT

VACANCY AT PEACE NEWS. Opportunity for young pacifist in the paper's general office. Competent typing, shorthand an advantage. Details from the Manager, PN Ltd., 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1 Applications in writing, please.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Portobello or Golborne Rd. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two hours shifts are needed. Apply to Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Portchester PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Weekend work camps take place whenever possible. Phone ENS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

DIARY

Saturday, June 4

BRIDGWATER: 2.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House. Area meeting FOR groups and friends. Leonard Hurst on "War and Hunger." Bridgwater Peace Group.

Saturday, June 4, to Monday, June 6

BRIDGNORTH, Shropshire: Week-end Conference. "The End or a New Beginning?" Details, Wheathill Bruderhof Community, Bromdon.

LONDON, E.8: 12 midday, Victoria Park. First day to Foulness Youth March. Usual accom. & catering. (Aldersbrook) Youth only. (First Nat. CND Youth March.) Further details, John Hoyland, MOU 1055.

Monday, June 6

WARWICK: 10 a.m. Market Sq. March to Gaydon V-bomber base. S. Warwickshire CND.

Tuesday, June 7

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. 17, Melville Rd., Seven Dials. AGM., 8 p.m. Hugh Brock. "Peace News, an Adventure in Journalism." PPU

into Kenya, and Angola. The PPU consistently into European dictatorships in Africa would probably still exclude lawyers even as observers.

But it ought to be possible to make sure that someone is in any town where a significant trial is being held in order to gather information and to assist the prisoners and their dependents. I need hardly say that friends of the African cause in Britain would wish to co-operate.

The Luanda trial is symbolical of what is happening in Angola. I have told earlier (PN, Feb. 5) how an Angola Peoples' Union had been established and how it had smuggled out six representatives to make contacts in other parts of Africa and to tell the Angola story in Europe and America.

When these representatives got to the Pan-African Conference at Tunis they were surprised to find representatives present from other African organisations in Angola of which they had little knowledge. They immediately formed a united national front.

Similarly at Luanda there are prisoners in three groups who previously had no contact but all of which claim independence. This indicates, first, that the call for freedom is spontaneous, and, second, how difficult co-ordinated action is under a dictatorship.

Political organisations and propaganda are illegal in Angola. Nevertheless, there are many signs that discontent is shaping itself in spreading associations. One of these is the large-scale military preparations which the Portuguese are making to stamp down revolt.

The Government is alarmed at the effect

organised boycotts of the beer halls. So there is Angola, between independence-near Belgian Congo and crisis-present British Central Africa. Angola cannot be isolated. All the troops of Portugal will not stop Africa's freedom.

Gunboat patrol

Two motor gun boats, shortly to be joined by a frigate, are patrolling the coast and rivers. Airfields are being built and military planes are to be based in Angola for the first time this summer. Clearly, the Portuguese are getting ready for a showdown.

These military preparations are being carried out particularly on the frontiers of the Belgian Congo and, significantly, of Northern Rhodesia. A word about the latter in a moment—the need for the former arises from the fact not only that the peoples on the two sides are so intimately associated, but also that there are some 60,000 Angolas in the Belgian Congo, including 35,000 Angola Bakongos in Bakongo-populated Leopoldville, the capital.

I am interested in the concern of the Portuguese about possible reactions from across the frontier of Northern Rhodesia. Here is the copperbelt, the Rhodesian storm-centre, where the United National Independence Party, led by peace-desiring Kenneth Kaunda, has been suppressed. I saw Kenneth, without bitterness despite his imprisonment, just before he returned from London to Northern Rhodesia this week.

He had not got much from the British Colonial Secretary. The representatives in

organised boycotts of the beer halls.

So there is Angola, between independence-near Belgian Congo and crisis-present British Central Africa. Angola cannot be isolated. All the troops of Portugal will not stop Africa's freedom.

Meanwhile, we who are British should remember that Portugal is our oldest ally. A Britain which stood for freedom in the world could use this historic association to suggest to M. Salazar that our friendship might be more uninhibited if he refrained from Luanda trials and military repressions of liberty.

But even as I write this sentence awkward words block my mind—words like Hola, Banda, Kaunda. Who are we to cast a stone?

Copyright in Africa and Asia reserved to author.

"One of the great books of a generation"

VERA BRITTAIN'S

Testament of Youth

Now available in a paper jacket edition

5s. (postage 6d.)

"... great clarity, issues that must be taken into account ..."

Sir STEPHEN KING-HALL'S

Common Sense in Defence

Just out 2s. 6d. (postage 2d.)

Send s.a.e. for latest list

HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP
5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall. Victoria St. Study Group One first meeting. "Nato and the Alliances." CND London Region.

Thursday, June 9

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd. "Income Tax and War." Douglas Clark. Leytonstone PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall. Victoria St. Study Group Two first meeting "Economics and Disarmament." CND London Region.

Friday, June 10

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. Lillian Dunning's, 20 Glenwood Rd., Henleaze. "The PPU and the sixties." Isa Preuss. Will Parkin. PPU

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. The Town Hall, Battersea. Dance; tickets 3s. 6d., dble. 6s., from IVS, 72 Oakley Square, N.W.1

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. Local Tribunal for COs. Public admitted. CBCCO.

LONDON, N.W.1: 5.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd., 1st meeting Study Group Three "Education for Peace." CND London Region.

LONDON, N.W.1: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd., 1st meeting Study Group Four "Non-violent Resistance." CND London Region.

Saturday, June 11

LEICESTER: 81, Clarendon Park Rd. 5 p.m.

Tea. 6.30 p.m. "Norman House." Miss E. Cullingworth. Loughborough & Burton PPU Groups Visiting.

Sunday, June 12

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. 5, Caledonian Rd. "The Orphans of the Atom Bomb." Françoise Parage. Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship.

Wednesday, June 15

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., USA: 8.15 p.m. First Congregational Church, 11 Garden St. "The Struggle for Peace—Urgent Next Steps." The Rt. Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, MP. Dr. Linus Pauling, Dr. H. Stuart Hughes, Rabbi Roland Gittelsohn. AFSC.

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Lower Fore St. John Barclay, International Help for Children. PPU.

Thursday, June 16

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd. "A Geographer Looks at Pacifism." Reg. Morris. Leytonstone PPU.

Saturday, June 18

LONDON, S.W.1: 10 a.m.-6.30 p.m. Caxton Hall (nr. St. James Park Stn.) Conference on Total Disarmament. J. Allen Skinner, Stuart Morris, Leslie Tarlton. Admission 2s. SJPC.

Monday, June 20

BIRMINGHAM 14: 8 p.m. 221, Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Monthly meeting (changed date). All welcome. PPU.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1



1249 June 3, 1960 6d. US Air Express
Edition 10 cents

THIS WAS NATO POLITICS Was Turkey number 8?

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE collapse last Friday of the Menderes régime in Turkey follows the familiar pattern of post-war military coups.

Another "Bastion of the Free World" has been overturned by the army. Another unpopular administration has been thrown out and replaced by the military.

Nominal democracies are disappearing all over the world: Egypt, Sudan, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, Burma, Siam and South Korea.

Several of these countries were associated with Western military alliances and in no case did NATO, CENTO or Washington show much public concern to enquire into their particular dictatorships. In Turkey the régime was backed by about two billion dollars of US aid which—needless to say—scarcely got anywhere near the large poverty-stricken and illiterate sections of the community.

Meanwhile the press was gagged, political activity banned, the jails filled, the army increased to 500,000—and finally martial law was declared.

Stories of Government atrocities and the shooting of students in recent weeks are now apparently gaining confirmation with the finding of communal graves.

No studies of arms control

FOULNESS YOUTH MARCH THIS WEEKEND

By IAN DIXON

OVER Whit-weekend members of the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will march from London to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Foulness in Essex where 15 demonstrators were arrested and jailed for participating in the non-violent direct action project on May 2 against nuclear weapons.

On the march, which is organised by the Foulness March Committee of the Chingford YCND, will be the "Operation Foulness" banner carried by demonstrators on May 2. The itinerary is:

Saturday, June 4: Depart 10 a.m. from St. Mark's Gate, Victoria Park, Hackney. Lunch stop at 12 noon at Wanstead Flats. Tea stop at 3.30 p.m. at Becontree Heath. Disperse for the day at "The Bell," Upminster.

Sunday, June 5: Leave "The Bell" at 9 a.m. via Ockenden Rd., to lunch stop near Langdon Hills at 1 p.m. Via London Rd. and Pitsea Station to tea stop at Howard Park, Pitsea, at 3.30 p.m. Disperse for the day at Marine Parade, Leigh-on-Sea at 6.30 p.m.

Monday, June 6: Leave Marine Parade at 12.30 p.m. Rally at Speakers' Corner, Southend, 2-3 p.m. Speakers include Mervyn Jones, Stuart Hall, George Clark and Mischa Goldman. March to Foulness Atomic Weapons Research Establishment.

Marchers requiring accommodation at the overnight stops should report to the Chief Marshal of the march.

Prisoners met

On Tuesday and Wednesday this week Jeffrey Holden, 27-year-old teacher, and Mary Pestel, 60-year-old housewife, were released from Brixton and Holloway prisons in London after having served a



A Turkish Army tank standing guard outside the police headquarters in Istanbul last Friday—the day the Army deposed the Menderes dictatorship.

London CND starts study groups

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A SERIES of study groups will start next week, organised by the London Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

"The Campaign" says the Region "can

scarcely got anywhere near the large poverty-stricken and illiterate sections of the community.

Meanwhile the press was gagged, political activity banned, the jails filled, the army increased to 500,000—and finally martial law was declared.

Stories of Government atrocities and the shooting of students in recent weeks are now apparently gaining confirmation with the finding of communal graves.

No studies of arms control

FOR the second year running, the US House of Representatives has refused to give the State Department the \$400,000 it requested for arms control studies.

According to the May issue of the authoritative *Washington Newsletter* of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, Department officials told the House Committee that "the most serious deficiency in the US approach (to disarmament) has been the lack of adequate planning and studies."

Swedes planning all-Europe march

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A NUCLEAR disarmament march starting from London on Easter Tuesday, 1961, and passing through nine capitals is being organised by a Swedish Committee.

Lasting seven months and covering 3,290 miles (at 15 miles a day) it will visit Paris, Brussels, Bonn, Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow, Helsinki and Stockholm and will be scheduled to arrive at large capitals at weekends.

The marchers will be demanding:

- World-wide nuclear disarmament;
- An end to all racial discrimination and world-wide recognition of the UN Declaration of Human Rights;
- The use of arms expenditure to help those in need.

Inge Oskarsson (Nimrodsgratan 23, Stockholm NO, Sweden) is co-ordinating arrangements for setting up national committees.

A Turkish Army tank standing guard outside the police headquarters in Istanbul last Friday—the day the Army deposed the Menderes dictatorship.

London CND starts study groups

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A SERIES of study groups will start next week, organised by the London Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

"The Campaign," says the Region, "cannot honestly advocate a change of policy towards nuclear weapons without accepting responsibility for studying the implications of that change and the means of carrying it through."

"The implications of unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons are not just strategic—they stretch deep into the philosophy, politics and economies of the countries concerned, and raise the question of the institution of war itself."

The planning committee for the series includes representatives of CND and the London Region, the Combined Universities Campaign, the Direct Action Committee, *Peace News* and the *New Left Review*.

Group One—"NATO and the Alliances"—will meet every Tuesday in June at 7.30 p.m. at Caxton Hall. Next Tuesday's speaker will be Stuart Hall, Editor of the *New Left Review*, who will speak on "The Bomb and the Alliances." His new discussion pamphlet, *NATO and the Alliances*, is now on sale, price 6d., from the London Region (5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1).

Group Two—"Economics and Disarmament"—will meet at Caxton Hall on alternate Thursdays, starting on June 9.

Group Three—"Education for Peace"—will be held at Friends House each Friday from 5.30 p.m. to 7.30.

Group Four—"Non-violent Resistance"—will follow group three from 8.0 p.m. to 10.0.

Group Five—"Future of the Movement"—will be held on July 5, 12 and 19 at Caxton Hall at 7.30 p.m.

A leaflet about the Study Groups, including the syllabus for each lecture and book lists, is available from London Region CND.

JELLY BOMBS IN ALGERIA

THE use of napalm bombs by the French in Algeria appears to have been finally confirmed by a report in last Sunday's *Reynolds News*.

Napalm bombs are made of jellied petrol and generate a temperature of 3,000 degrees Fahrenheit.

In a report by Norman Cuthbert from Rabat, Morocco, detailed evidence was given of their use. Four young Algerian rebels—the sole survivors of such bombing on May 8—are in Rabat's Avicenne Hospital. The bombs were dropped on an FLN troop position by three B26 bombers supported by 20 fighters which later strafed everything that moved.

The examining doctor at Avicenne Hospital has issued a certificate saying that the four who escaped suffered from first and second degree burns from coming into contact with some highly volatile substance.

The head of the Regional Laboratory of Chemistry at Avicenne has examined the remains of their clothing and after conducting analyses, has confirmed the presence of paraffin and petrol base liquid in whatever substance had caused the burning.

A spokesman at the Algerian Nationalist headquarters in Rabat said that the French first started to use napalm in 1957, and that they had always denied doing so. This time the French authorities have issued no denial or statement.

Monday, June 6: Leave Marine Parade at 12.30 p.m. Rally at Speakers' Corner, Southend, 2-3 p.m. Speakers include Mervyn Jones, Stuart Hall, George Clark and Mischa Goldman. March to Foulness Atomic Weapons Research Establishment.

Marchers requiring accommodation at the overnight stops should report to the Chief Marshal of the march.

Prisoners met

On Tuesday and Wednesday this week Jeffrey Holden, 27-year-old teacher, and Mary Pestel, 60-year-old housewife, were released from Brixton and Holloway prisons in London after having served a month's imprisonment for their part in the demonstration at Foulness on May 2.

At 7.30 a.m. small groups of relatives, friends and members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament gathered outside the prisons to meet the prisoners on release.

Posters carried by supporters read: "Prison will not Deter our Protest." From Brixton Prison Jeffrey Holden brought out with him from Will Warren good wishes for the Foulness March of the Youth CND over Whitsun and for the direct action demonstrators who will take part in the Finningley (Yorks) demonstration on July 30.

The Foulness Prisoners' Committee told *Peace News* on Tuesday that donations to the relief fund for Foulness prisoners and dependants so far amount to over £80. Contributions have been received from CND and Trade Union branches as well as individuals. Several CND groups have promised to send regular monthly sums for prisoners' dependants. Newcastle-on-Tyne raised £3 at a recent "coffee evening" for this purpose.

● Terence Chandler is still in Wormwood Scrubs and not, as reported in *PN* recently, in Eastchurch open prison.

Mau Mau report

THE Corfield Report on Mau Mau—its origins, growth and method—which was published this week will be the subject of Fenner Brockway's regular feature in *Peace News* next week.

Published by Peace News Ltd., 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1, and printed in Gt. Britain by Goodwin Press Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, London, N.4.

No. 1,249 London, June 3, 1960 6d.

US Air Express
Edition 10 cents

INSIDE

Dr. HARRY ELMER BARNES
the outstanding American
historian and penologist
concludes his series on
the infamous case of
CARYL CHESSMAN
page two

TURKEY AND NATO POLITICS
page eight

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP
on Portugal's preparations
for war in Africa
page seven

COMMENTARY
by J. Allen Skinner
page four

CND AND NATO
A report on last week's
Central Hall rally
from David Boulton
page six

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
pages five and six

POLARIS SUBMARINE
A radical demonstration
against America's new
H-bomb launcher
page three

MORE THAN 1,000 ARRESTS WERE MADE FOLLOWING NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION DEMONSTRATIONS IN PARIS, MARSEILLES AND DIJON LAST SATURDAY.



ABOVE: French demonstrators against the detention camps for Algerian suspects. After meeting in Paris last Saturday evening they tried to walk to the Ministry of the Interior but were stopped by the police. They then sat down in silence with their posters and waited to be arrested. The large poster reads: "If you want peace—make it." On the right a gendarme reaches out to seize another poster.

BELOW: The scene in the Place de la Concorde—the largest square in Paris. Demonstrators were mounted round the Egyptian Obelisk. Their banners proclaimed: "We, too, are suspects," and "Put us in their place."

The demonstrators were protesting against the internment without trial in France of 5,000 Algerian suspects.

The demonstration in Paris is believed to have been the fifteenth action in the city since the 1,000-strong protest in the suburb of Vincennes on April 30, reported in *Peace News* on May 6.

Last Saturday's sit-down just off the Champs Elysees, in the heart of Paris, occurred when the police stopped the demonstrators marching to the Ministry of the Interior.

The police were not as gentle as they were at Vincennes a month ago. The demonstrators had their clothes ripped and glasses taken off and stamped on, while violence was used against the people inside the police vans.

One-third women

The demonstrators included ten priests, some Protestant clergy, M. Claude Bourdet, Editor of *France-Observateur*; M. Jean Cassou, Director of the Paris Museum of Modern Art; Mme. Germaine Tillon, the sociologist; M. Schwoebel, assistant foreign news editor of *Le Monde*, and many other distinguished people.

About one-third of the demonstrators were women and about 80 per cent were young people.

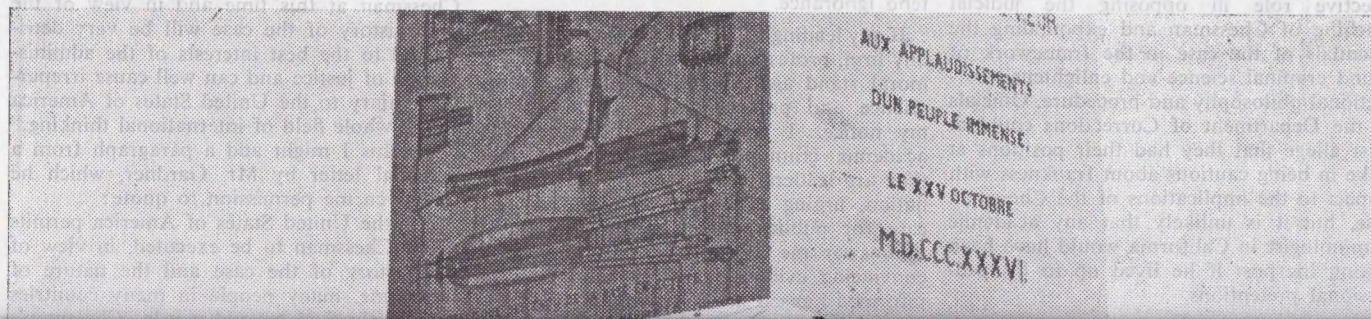
After being detained till 5 a.m. they were taken by police cars outside Paris and dumped in the country. The Dijon demonstrators were taken 20 miles away at 2 a.m.

The five organisers of the Paris demonstration, all members of Action Civique Non-violente, were detained until Sunday night, and it is expected that charges will be brought against them.

The five are Marie Faugeron (Secretary of the Federation Against Atomic Armaments), E. Tinel, Jacques Tinel, Joseph Pyronnet and Ambroise Monod.

No charges

The demonstrators have not been charged.



... no army is beaten until it has lost faith and confidence. These men had, at that moment, and it would be a long time before they recovered them again.—The Sunday Times, Goronwy Rees, May 29, 1960.

THESE words do not refer to Germans or Japanese, nor to the British lined up under the blazing hell on earth of Dunkirk; they are taken from a description of the abortive and appalling Dieppe raid in 1942.

There are a considerable number of descriptions available in published books or documents of the dreadful carnage of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; many people have written of the slaughter at the Dardanelles and of Dunkirk; the horrible tortures of a nuclear attack have been described by Nevil Shute in *ON THE BEACH*, and more baldly in official pamphlets.

Only the mentally deficient to-day can be unaware of the horrible torments men have invented to use upon their fellow men. For those who, in the last resort, still put their faith in war, excuses and justification for the worst of these sufferings and tragedies are always to be found in the need to defeat the enemy and secure victory.

But the raid upon Dieppe was not an attempt to do either of these things; it was not planned to open a "second front" attack; it was not intended to force the defences along the coast of France for the purposes of so-called "liberation"; it was nothing more, nothing less, than an experiment.

It was an experiment with men who had been trained for months and months in advance of the planned date; they were at the peak of physical fitness; they were ready for the slaughter house; casualties were expected and plans made for dealing with them.

★

These men, conveniently called "assault forces," were to be put ashore by the Navy; they were to be protected by a covering barrage from the destroyers' six-inch guns, and the air force whose main objective was to bring out the German aircraft in an endeavour to shoot them down. The "assault force," which never got further than the foot of the promenade wall, was to have penetrated into Dieppe, destroyed particular objectives, and proceeded with an orderly withdrawal.

It was an experiment made with a wanton and appalling disregard for human lives, and it failed. The men who landed on that beach, confident in the commanders who had arranged and ordered the project; sure of the men who had trained and tutored them; certain of the overwhelming might of the British Navy and Air Force



A test firing of the Polaris H-bomb missile.

US Navy photo.

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

DETAILS have now been published of the comprehensive US action project against Polaris missile-launching nuclear submarines.

The action—sponsored by the Committee for Non-violent Action—continues throughout June, July and August.

Polaris is the name given by the US Navy to a nuclear weapon for massive retaliation. Admiral Burke has called it a "strictly retaliatory weapon system." Speaking before a Senate Armed Services sub-committee on January 29, 1959, the US Chief of Naval Operations continued: "It has no mission except retaliation; no mission except to destroy Russia if she wants to start something. This is the only thing the weapon is good for."

IMPERSONAL DESTRUCTION

Each submarine carries at least 16 missiles. These ships cost over \$100,000,000 each (cheaper than other missile systems) and have been called "the most complex things ever built by man."

Each missile has a range of over 1,500 miles and carries an H-bomb warhead of over one megaton (i.e., equivalent to over 1,000,000 tons of TNT).

The fleet of 50 submarines will be able to launch an attack six times greater than one which the Rand Corporation estimated would kill 160,000,000 Americans in 36 hours.

Captain J. B. Osborn, of the first Polaris submarine *George Washington*, was asked how he felt about the act of unleashing the missiles. "I've never given it any thought," he was quoted in the *Norwich (Connecticut) Bulletin* of December 26. "If we have to hit, we'll hit. And there won't be a second's hesitation."

Polaris, says the Committee for Non-violent Action, "will virtually end hopes for controlled disarmament." In its place the Committee offers a radical alternative including unilateral disarmament, non-violent resistance, economic readjustment programmes and massive aid to under-developed nations.

PERSONAL ACTION

It also commends "personal action that does not leave ending the arms race up to the Government." It suggests that people can leave work in military industries, refuse to pay federal taxes for war or serve in the armed forces, stop co-operating with civil defence drills—and "practice brotherhood with all men in their daily living."

The Committee's action is based on New London and Groton, Connecticut, where the Electric Boat division of General Dynamics Corporation holds the major contracts for building Polaris submarines. These two summer resorts lie on Long Island Sound, 110 miles from Boston and 100 miles from New York.

Eight-day walks from these large cities will be held to the area. A major programme of peace education in the district has been started, and a headquarters opened in New London. From August 15 the project will be opened to civil disobedience "if there are those who feel conscientiously moved to undertake this form of action."

The Committee for Non-violent Action is at 158 Grand Street, Room 10, New York City 13, NY. (Walker 5-9415).

cent."

If true, this placeth us, the staff and directors of Peace News, in an embarrassing moral predicament.

For although we are actually innocent of the sin of speedy enrichment, we find ourselves in fact wishing we could lose our innocence.

It's true that at the moment we do not know how to lose it. Though sharing amongst ourselves a wide assortment of talents and abilities, financial enterprise is not among them. But that does not alter the fact that, if we only knew how, we would make haste to be rich.

I must further confess that we bear within our hearts the root of all evil: the love of money.

You may say that it is not money we love but the cause for which we need it. Thank you, but we cannot honestly accept that exonerates. As moralists we cannot separate means from ends. Therefore we love money.

We appeal to you to do what you can to relieve us of this burden on our consciences. Not being rich yourselves you cannot render us entirely sinless. But you might at least modify the urgency of our craving for this demoralising substance by sending as much of it as you can spare.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since May 20: £23 14s.

Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £550 13s. 7d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: £1.

Still needed: £1,949.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

AFTER YEARS IN JAIL...

ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN, known as the "Frontier Gandhi," has been disqualified from public life for six years.

The decision, by a special Pakistan judicial tribunal in Lahore on May 19, was reported by *The Daily Telegraph* as being taken on the grounds that he had been detained at various periods for subversive activities.

A close and trusted friend of Gandhi, 70-year-old Ghaffar Khan succeeded to an astonishing degree in bringing the warlike Pathans of the North-West Frontier into a non-violent campaign for political freedom.

P.N. FUND LATEST